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POLITICAL OPINIONS

ON THE

Roman Catholic Question,

EXPRESSED IN

PARLIAMENT AND IN PUBLIC.

BY THE

RT. HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.,

COMPILED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY A BARRISTER.

"Every man, too, should be allowed the free performance of those religious observances and the free profession of that faith which his conscience told him were the best."

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—APRIL 21, 1834.

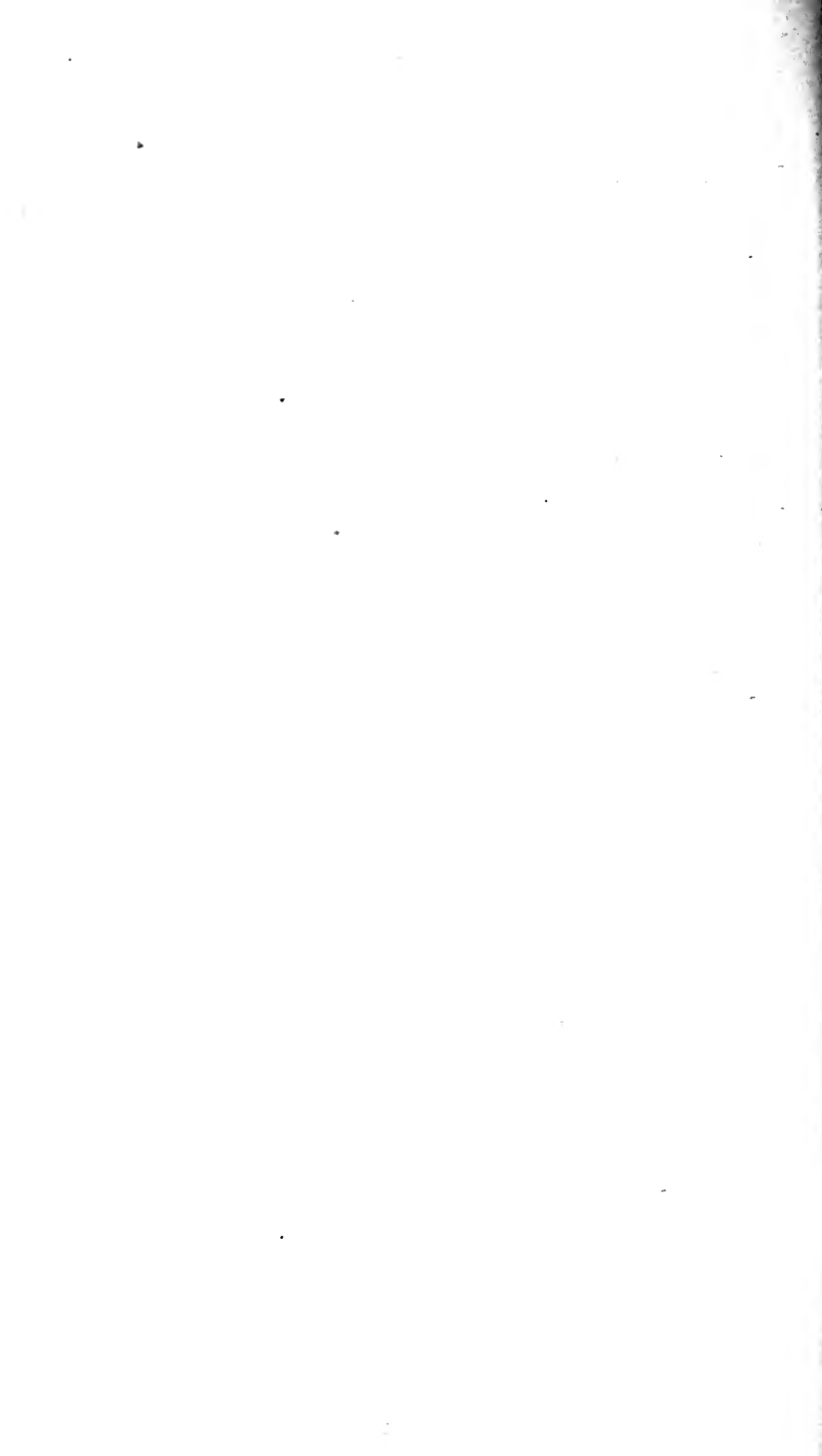
"I may have used words liable to misapprehension, but I never meant that there should be any supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion."

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—JUNE 12, 1844.

LONDON :

RICHARDSON AND SON, 172, FLEET STREET,
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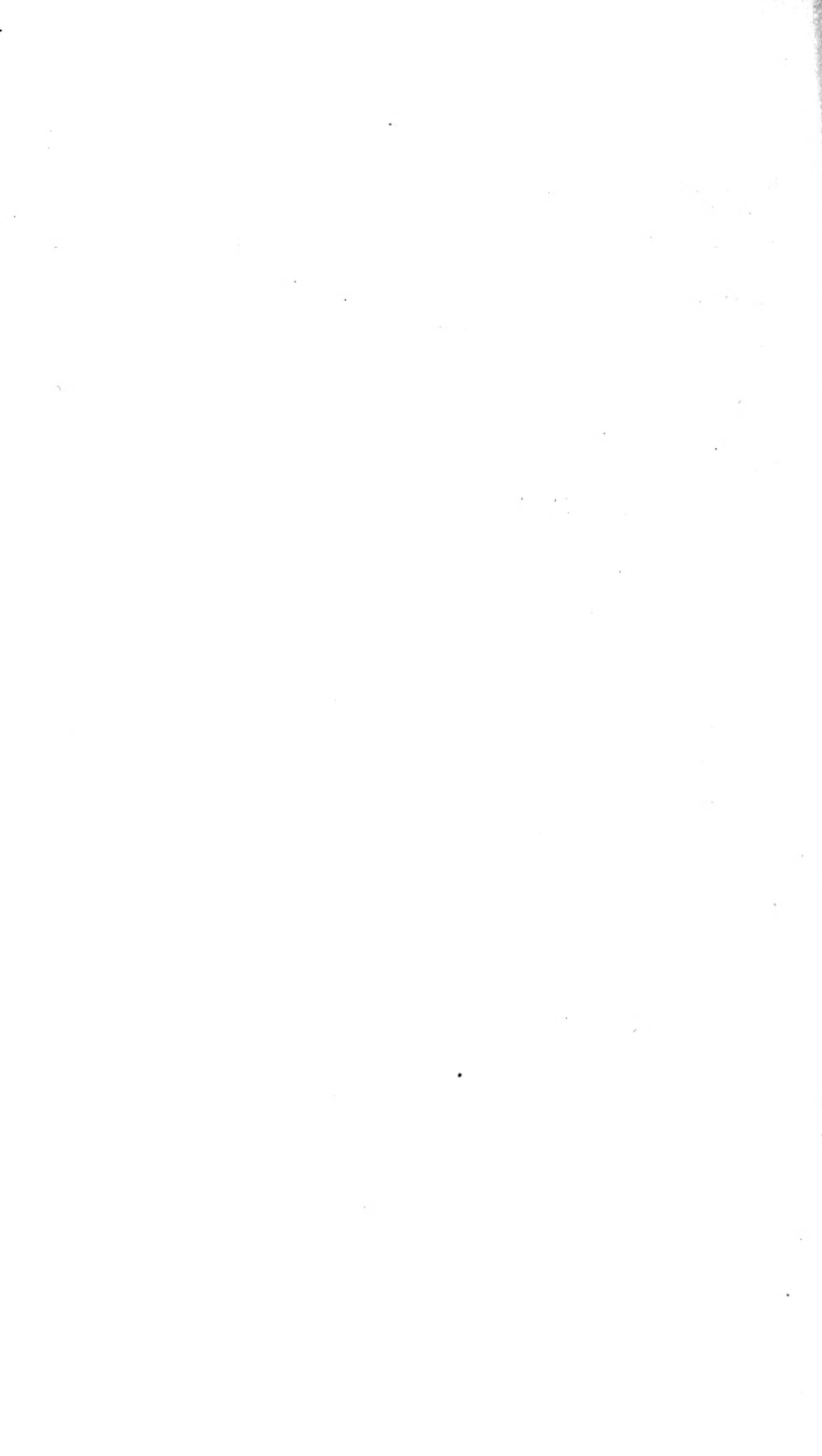
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INTRODUCTION.

THE two great Churches of the Christian world have again been brought into direct antagonism, upon a question which involves the most momentous considerations: and an agitation has sprung up almost unparalleled in the annals of this country. Whether the act, from which this agitation has arisen, be regarded in the light of an aggression on the part of the Church of Rome, or as merely trenching upon the ecclesiastical discipline of that Church, the importance of the question cannot be underrated; and, although the discussion of the subject has aroused passions long dormant, awakened prejudices long buried, and rekindled the fires of intolerance which had long smouldered, popular clamour must subside, and yield to calm and rational discussion of the question at issue; and in the Senate of Great Britain, where all creeds and all classes of Her Majesty's subjects are represented, it will, as we believe and trust, receive that fair, impartial, and solemn consideration, which its vital importance unequivocally demands. Although it is impossible, at the present moment, to determine on the course which Her Majesty's advisers will think proper to recommend, great weight must inevitably be attached to the opinions of a Statesman, who commenced his political career as the avowed advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty—the present Prime Minister of England.

When it is recollected that these Opinions were delivered during a long series of years, and that they are to be found recorded only in files of Parliamentary debates and in reports of political meetings, expensive to all, and accessible but to those who have both patience and time at their command, it is thought that their production in a

collected form, calculated for ready reference, will prove acceptable to all interested in the Great Question of the day. Bearing in mind that the sole merit of a work like the present must consist in the claim which it can put forward as a standard authority, the Editor has been guided by three rules, to which he has most strictly adhered. Firstly, *to collate the selections from the most authentic sources*; secondly, *in transcribing the passages, to avoid injuring the context*; and thirdly, *to give an exposition of the noble Lord's sentiments, totally irrespective of party or religious bias*. Whether these opinions evince inconsistency, or bear out the views which the noble Lord, as the supporter of Civil and Religious Liberty, advocated; whether they afford a ground for the encomiums of his supporters, or the attacks of his political opponents, are matters with which the Editor of this work conceives he is not entitled to deal.

If, in the execution of this design, aught may be found faulty, the Editor boldly claims exemption from all censure, on the score of impartiality.

December 23, 1850.

POLITICAL OPINIONS

OF

THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

INTERFERENCE OF THE STATE IN RELIGIOUS DISPUTES CONDEMNED.

It is my firm conviction that the only measure by which tranquillity can be restored to Ireland, is by establishing an equal law for the whole people : by making the Government independent of religion, and the power of the State a purely political power ; and by causing religious disputes—if such disputes there must be—to be between the subjects themselves and not between the subjects and the State.—*Debate on the Irish Insurrection Bill*, June 24th, 1824.

RECOGNITION OF THE SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY OF THE POPE.

The time was when the exercise of the Catholic religion in this country subjected the party to a persecution ; but, when once that religion was tolerated, the spiritual authority of the Pope was recognised to a certain extent ; for the recognition of that authority formed part of the religious tenets of the Roman Catholic.—*Debate on Roman Catholic Relief Bill*, May 6th, 1825.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND NO COMPROMISE.

I am ready to declare, for myself, and on behalf of the great body of my friends, that, on the principle of general religious liberty, without any compromise or exception in favour of any one sect, I will give my support to any question that may come before the House.—*Debate on the Tests and Corporation Acts*, March 23rd, 1827.

GRIEVANCES OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS COMPARED.

I will say that the grievances of the Protestant Dissenters are not practically so great as those of the Catholics. The proof of this fact is before me. All the Catholics in the kingdom are excluded from Parliament, while my honourable friend, the member for Norwich, is able, though a Dissenter, to take his seat. The law, indeed, is founded on principles of persecution, but the Annual Bill of Indemnity, in fact, gives that relief to the Protestant Dissenters which is denied to the Catholics.—*Ibid.*

RELIGIOUS BELIEF NO GROUND FOR CIVIL DISABILITIES.

Ever since I have been a member of this House, my votes have been guided by the principle, that the subjects of these kingdoms ought not to suffer any civil penalty, any civil hardship, any civil inconvenience, on account of their religious belief. Directed by this principle, I have voted for removing the disabilities imposed by law on the Roman Catholics, from whatever quarter, and in whatever shape, the motion appeared. But if I gave the full benefit of this principle to the Roman Catholics, whose religion has been mixed, even at this day, by some of its more extravagant professors, with the most objectionable and the most slavish political doctrines, I could not refuse to extend it to the Protestant Dissenters, who have ever been attached to the free constitution of this country; if I admitted to all the privileges of that constitution those who, during the last century, had been the adherents of the House of Stuart, I could not but grant the same admission to the Protestant Dissenters, who have ever been the zealous, persevering, constant, and active friends of the House of Hanover.—*Speech on presenting Petitions for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts*, June 7th, 1827.

THE EFFECT OF UNITY IN THE CAUSE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

I cannot but wish that the Protestant and Roman Catholic Dissenter, with the liberal-minded of the Established Church, would unite in the cause of freedom of conscience. Then we might hope to see all the civil penalties and disabilities on account of religion, which unhappily distinguish our statute-book from the laws of all the more enlightened nations of Europe, entirely swept away. I feel confident that such an end to persecution, of all kinds, would strengthen and enrich the state, would secure and fortify the Established Church, would purify and exalt the spirit of religion.—*Ibid.*

THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.

I now come to the great principle involved in the numerous petitions before the House; petitions signed by the whole body of Dissenters, by Roman Catholics, and by many members of the Established Church. That principle is, that every man ought to be allowed to form his religious opinions by the impressions on his own mind; and that, when so formed, he should be at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, without being subjected to any penalty or disqualification whatever; that every restraint or restriction imposed on any man on account of his religious creed is in the nature of persecution, and is at once an offence to God and an injury to man. This is the just and noble principle on which the Dissenters claim the repeal of the

Test laws.—*On introducing a motion for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts*, February 26th, 1828.

CLAIM OF ROMAN CATHOLICS TO CIVIL PRIVILEGES.

If Parliament should say, "Nothing can be alleged against the Dissenters, and therefore these laws should be abrogated;" and if you afterwards decide against the Roman Catholics, who hold no doctrines, who harbour no feelings against the Constitution, whose only crime is that they adhere to a particular religious belief—if you decide against the admission of the Roman Catholics to civil privileges—I cannot very well conceive on what fair ground such a decision could rest.—*Debate in Committee on the Test and Corporation Acts*, February 28th, 1828.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND EMANCIPATION.

There have been so many persons in authority adverse to the claims of the Catholics; measures in favour of the Catholics have found so many opponents in the other House of Parliament; there is, moreover, in the people of this country so great a jealousy of any measure on the subject introduced by an individual member; and lastly, it is impossible that any member unconnected with the Government should propose a measure which would be satisfactory to the Church and to the numerous interests connected with it. These are the considerations which have convinced me, that until the Catholic question is made a Government question, it cannot succeed. I had indeed hoped that the repeated votes of this House would at some time have forced the Government to take up the question, but with this hope there was joined in my mind a fear, which, as it was not on personal grounds, I am not ashamed to avow. I confess I feared that events in Ireland would proceed faster than the legislation of this House—that the narrow isthmus between endurance and resistance would be broken down, and that they would be plunged into a struggle in which victory would have proved one of the most dreadful calamities that could befall a nation. This fear, not for myself, but for the safety and welfare of my country, had sunk deep into my mind; and I hail, therefore, with most heartfelt joy, the measures which the Government have determined to adopt. I am quite sure the time is now at hand when the Duke of Wellington will find, that, in the judgment of this country, the most unfading laurel in his crown will be the act by which he has restored equal liberty to all classes of His Majesty's subjects.—*Address on the King's Speech*, February 6th, 1829.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

The first act of the petitioners* this year was to return thanks

* The Protestant Dissenters.

to Parliament for the favour they had obtained; but in the next place they conceived it to be an act of duty to ask that for others which had been extended to themselves. They looked round, and seeing that there were still upon the statute-book disabilities of the same nature from which they had been relieved—they resolved to petition for the removal of all disabilities on account of religious opinions. It is only fair that I should state that this resolution was not carried unanimously. There were eighty-three Protestant Dissenting ministers present, of whom about fifteen voted against the resolution. The petitioners are not indeed rich in revenues from the profession of their religion, but they are accustomed to the deep and earnest study of that religion, and they objected to the Church of England because it approximated too nearly to the Church of Rome.—*Debate on the Roman Catholic Claims*, Feb. 12th, 1829.

THE JUNCTION OF DISSENTERS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF REDRESSING THEIR GRIEVANCES, IMPOLITIC.

A proposition was made last year that the Protestant Dissenters should join with the Catholics. I, among others, was consulted on this proposition, and I was decidedly of opinion that they ought not to petition in conjunction. My reasons for this opinion are, that as there is a difference in the degree of their disabilities, and as their cases stood, in many respects, upon different grounds, it would be disrespectful to the House to club the two together. Reasons might be urged against the one which would not apply to the other, and I therefore thought that the interests of both would be rather retarded than forwarded by such a conjunction.—*Ibid*.

DEFINITION OF THE QUESTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

It is not a question immediately affecting the rights of Protestant laymen. The measure proposed to be brought forward will not take away any of their rights or privileges—nor, according to the recommendation contained in the King's Speech, will it touch the rights or privileges of the clergy. The question is, whether the Roman Catholics cannot be admitted to participate in all the benefits of the Constitution with perfect security to the rights and privileges of the clergy and laity.—*Ibid*, February 26th, 1829.

MAYNOOTH.

The honourable member* has alluded to the propriety of making no further grants for the support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and I am not much inclined to disagree in opinion with my honourable friend on this point. If a strong opinion were to be expressed by the people of this country that it

* Sir R. H. Inglis.

is not right to make a provision for the maintenance of that seminary, I for one will feel disposed to yield to it.—*Debate on the Catholic Claims*, March 17th, 1829.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF NO BAR TO CIVIL PRIVILEGES.

It had once been held to be the maxim of the Constitution, that none but persons attached to the Church of England should share the benefits of that Constitution—an intelligible and a plausible theory; but when once this maxim was abandoned,—when once it was agreed that persons not members of the Church of England might be members of the Legislature,—the particular tenets of a representative of the people became a matter of pure indifference. Roman Catholics and Unitarians were allowed to sit in Parliament, although the one considered the Church of England an apostacy and the other a corruption. Both were admitted to political power, and by acts of Parliament it was declared that the Constitution was thereby exposed to no additional peril. Those, then, who would exclude the Jews, argued on a false assumption that none ought to be admitted to political power but those who were of the religion of the State. I maintain, on the contrary, that religion no longer comes into question when a man requires to be admitted to the privileges of the Constitution. It has been decided over and over again by majorities of this House, that no man is objectionable on the ground of his religion, but only on the ground of wanting loyalty to the King and fidelity to the State.—*Debate on the Removal of Jewish Disabilities*, May 17th, 1830.

TEST OF SINCERITY AND EXPEDIENCY.

I do not wonder to see the honourable baronet* adhere to the exclusion of the Jews, since it is the last hold of intolerance and persecution, and it cannot be relinquished without a pang. Like Niobe, when she clung to the last of her unhappy offspring, the honourable baronet may exclaim—

“——— Unam minimamque relinque
De multis minimam posco, clamavit, et unam.”

The majorities who have recently supported the cause of civil and religious liberty must vote in favour of this bill. If they do not, it will prove that the late concession to Roman Catholics was extorted by fear, and that the right honourable gentlemen opposite have granted political privileges, not because they believed in their hearts that they were deserved, but because they thought they could no longer be refused with safety.—*Ibid.*

* Sir R. H. Inglis, the member for Oxford.

DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THE QUESTION OF EMANCIPATION DEFINED.

We all recollect the great measure passed a few sessions ago—I mean the question of Catholic Emancipation. On that occasion, although I am, and always have been, convinced, that right and reason and political expediency were on one side, yet I think it cannot be denied, that the immediate benefit to be derived from that measure for the people of Ireland, and the instant tranquility that was expected to flow from it, were grossly exaggerated on the one hand; but, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that the topics of the utter subversion of the Established Church, and of the threatened discord between the two classes of the people, on the renewal of persecution, were in like manner grossly exaggerated, until it became the duty of Parliament then not to leave any longer the topic of discussion open to agitation, but to place under the solid sanction of their authority and approval a measure the best calculated, in their opinion, to effect a speedy and satisfactory settlement of a great question which then agitated the public mind.—*Debate on the Reform Bill*, December 12th, 1831.

POLICY OF THE WHIG PARTY.

In 1827 the right honourable gentleman* opposite, as the organ of a great party in this House and in the country, declared there were three measures to which he should give his decided opposition, namely, to the Repeal of the Test Act, Catholic Emancipation, and Parliamentary Reform. In the following year, 1828, being defeated on a division in this House, he gave way on the Repeal of the Test Act. Did we taunt him with this? On the contrary, we allowed the Duke of Wellington to carry off the fame of this great concession to the spirit of religious liberty. In the year following, 1829, the Duke of Wellington and the right honourable gentleman opposite, proposed the Repeal of the Roman Catholic Disabilities. What was our conduct? We sung no song of triumph, we prided not ourselves on our past triumphs; and when a gentleman, now no more, spoke with some scorn of new conversions, I, as a humble member of a great party, said, that we would not look back to former contentions; that it was enough for us the ministry were then, as we thought, in the path of true policy; and that we should give them our earnest support. It is notorious, indeed, that we carried this so far, that, rather than injure a Government engaged in so great a measure, we concurred in votes opposed, if not to our principles, to our feelings, our wishes, and our opinions: by this conduct the

* The late Sir Robert Peel.

Government were retained in power and carried their question.—*Ibid*, December 17th, 1831.

POLICY OF THE PAST AND OF THE PRESENT AGES COMPARED.

A person of great wit, who lived in our own time, used to say, that "it was not every man who was to be trusted with a memory." So, likewise, it is not every man who is to be trusted with history. For instance, if my honourable friend reads, that in 1688 the Roman Catholics were excluded and the close boroughs preserved, is he therefore to conclude that the same thing is to be done now? Rightly did our ancestors judge for their day, and we, judging in the same spirit and adapting our institutions to our own times, as they did their institutions to theirs, may wisely, and justly, and seasonably, admit where they excluded, and abolish what they preserved.—*Ibid*.

ABUSE OF CIVIL PRIVILEGES.

I am one of those who voted for Catholic Emancipation, because I thought that all classes of his Majesty's subjects ought to be placed on a footing of equality; but I never anticipated that that equality was to be converted into tyranny, and that those who had been admitted into all the privileges of the British Constitution, should make so bad a use of those privileges as to become, in their turn, the oppressors of a once dominant and intolerant party.—*Debate on Tithes (Ireland) Bill*, July 13th, 1832.

EQUAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY TO ALL.

Whenever I have been the advocate for religious liberty with reference either to this country or to Ireland, I meant a religious liberty equal to all. I never meant that any portion of the people should be deprived, for the sake of any other portion, of the power of acting according to their own discretion.—*Debate on Coercive Laws for Ireland*, February 18th, 1833.

A PRINCIPLE MUST BE MAINTAINED IN ITS INTEGRITY OR ABANDONED.

Although this is of no great importance as a question of practice, yet it is of great importance as a question of principle; for if differences in religious opinions are to lead to civil disabilities you ought not to stop at exclusion from Parliament, but ought to go to the fullest extent—even to banishment and death. You should either adopt the principle in its complete application or not at all.—*Emancipation of the Jews*, May 23rd, 1833.

TOLERATION OF CREED ADVOCATED.

Every man, too, should be allowed the free performance of those religious observances and the free profession of that faith which his conscience told him were the best.—*Debate on Church Rates*, April 21st, 1834.

A PROPHECY.

When I compare the advantage thus obtained in a single election to the long, powerful, and popular resistance which was made to the Roman Catholic claims, I cannot but feel that the cause of liberality, toleration, and truth has gained ground, and I clearly foresee the day when the unconstitutional threat, the rooted prejudice, and the petty calumny which have been successful against me, will shrink before the advance of political freedom and the diffusion of religious charity.—*Letter to the Electors of South Devon, on his defeat at the election*, May 6th, 1835.

“REFORM AND PRESERVE.”

I approved the principle of the Dissenters' Marriage Bill, and gave it more praise than, perhaps, many Dissenters would. On the question of the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, and on the London University question, I had reason to believe they would not support those extensive measures as they ought to do, and on the latter I voted against them. I was opposed to them on another great measure—the state of the Irish Church,—because it was the determination of the late Government to maintain, in those parts where there were scarcely any Protestants, the whole, or nearly the whole, of their revenues and possessions, and not to apply them to the purposes of education. I opposed them because the people were exposed to the arbitrary collection of tithes, when they derived no benefit. Seeing that for centuries this mode had failed, I was disposed to give the people education; certainly not exclusively Protestant, but neither is it Catholic. The Catholics have said they are willing to abide by this. Will the Protestants say they are not? Diffuse knowledge as widely as you can; if they cannot obtain it in one way, give it them in another. Enable them to judge whether the Catholic or Protestant religion is the better, and you will bring them nearer to Protestantism, and not confirm them as Catholics. If by this means we conciliate, and are enabled to govern without so large a military force, the whole empire will be stronger and better able to meet its enemies. These are the principles I have advocated in, and which have been approved by, Parliament. They must ultimately prevail—by a contrary course we should injure religion, weaken Government, and irritate those with whom we ought to live

as brothers. I have now explained my sentiments. I am bound, as a Minister, to preserve our institutions while I reform them; my maxim is, "Reform and preserve."—*Speech on his nomination for Stroud, May 12th, 1835.*

PRINCIPLES OF THE WHIG PARTY.

If they* thought it wrong to admit the Catholics to power—if they thought it wrong to do away with the restrictions on the Dissenters, and afterwards yielded to them,—if they did so, I say, at what point is it they can stop? What opposition can they make to any other measure they call destructive? What measure can they resist to which they will not have the same reasons to object which they had against measures to which they afterwards yielded? I say, they can stand on no ground or principle; that there is no opposition they can make which they did not make against those measures of Catholic Emancipation and Reform; and I say, therefore, which to speak is Conservative, that I think it is far better that these measures should be proposed by those who think them right than yielded to those who think them wrong. Now, as an instance, I saw a bill with the old war cry of "No-Popery." Now let us reflect a little. It is but thirty years ago since that cry was set up against Lord Grey, who proposed that Roman Catholics should be admitted as generals in the army; but ten years afterwards those who had raised the cry passed an act quietly through Parliament to that effect. They still continued their cry for ten years more, and at the end of ten years they introduced a measure granting everything to the Roman Catholics, which, as Roman Catholics, they had been asked. I say, after this what will be expected from those that still cry "No-Popery?" *Speech to the Electors of Stroud, May 19th, 1835.*

DEFENCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

We hold that the Roman Catholics are to be considered on an equal account with their Protestant fellow-subjects, and that, as they freely wish to join with us in loyalty to the Throne and attachment to the Constitution, it is right they should enjoy the same rights and privileges as we enjoy. Our opponents, on the other hand, maintain that the Roman Catholics are aliens in blood, differing from their fellow-subjects in religious opinions, and only waiting for an opportunity to shake off the government of this country as tyrannous and oppressive.—*Debate on the Tithes (Ireland) Bill, June 1st, 1836.*

ADVANTAGES OF INSTRUCTION IRRESPECTIVE OF CREED.

It might be suggested that the Roman Catholics should be forced, *vi et armis*, to go to church, and that tithes should be collected at the edge of the sword; but neither of these proceedings

* The Conservatives.

would be effectual in compelling the six millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland to receive the Protestant doctrines, contrary to their faith. It is of no use merely to have a Protestant Establishment in Ireland. What I wish, and what I think others ought to wish, is to diffuse through that country a system of instruction, not limited to Protestant instruction, but which should partake of the common doctrines of Christianity—love to one's neighbour, charity to all men—the great and sublime doctrines, in which the Roman Catholic was of one mind with us. Such a course of proceeding would best tend to the promotion of the true religion. Let every man, whether Protestant or Catholic, be well instructed and thoroughly grounded in the great moral principle acknowledged by both faiths; and he would be a better man and a better subject than the man who was left without instruction, be he of what persuasion he might.—*Debate in Committee on the Church and Tithes (Ireland) Bill, July 4th, 1836.*

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF IRELAND.

In Ireland, where however well-inclined the ministers of religion may be to inculcate the suppression of crime and the diminution of vice, the difference of religious faith between them and the great body of the people, renders the inculcation of such doctrines from their hands totally useless, and in some cases impracticable, I may give some examples (though they have been often quoted) for the purpose of showing how little the Clergy of the Church of Ireland can have the influence to which I have alluded over the great body of the people. It appears by the last census, that the population of Ireland, in round numbers, is upwards of eight millions; and six millions and a half are Roman Catholics, six hundred and fifty thousand Presbyterians, and eight hundred and fifty-two thousand members of the Established Church. The greater part of the members of this establishment are in one of the four ecclesiastical provinces of Ireland. In the province of Armagh, there are more than 500,000 members of the Church Establishment. In the diocese of Cashel and Derry, where the Roman Catholics number 3,408,000, the whole number of Protestants is but 150,470. In Cashel, ninety-five per cent. of the population are Roman Catholics. In Tuam, ninety-six per cent. of the population are Roman Catholics. In the diocese of Derry, containing a population of 98,000, the members of the Established Church are but one and a quarter per cent. in number. Yet they are not without endowments. It appears that there are forty-one benefices without a single Protestant, and ninety-nine with only from one to twenty. There are many other benefices in which there is a very small number of Protestants members of the Established Church, and a very large number of Roman Catholics. I say, then, give to the ministers of the Established Church in

Ireland any benefit you please, give them credit for the utmost attention to their duties, (although in many instances there is neither glebe-house nor church,) their differing in faith from the people must be in the way of their usefulness. I say that the condition of Ireland furnishes a singular example of an Established Church, a country in three parts out of four of which that Established Church is in a small minority; and that, under such circumstances, it is impossible that the lessons given by the ministers of the Established Church can reach the heart or influence the conduct of the great body of the people.—*Debate on the Tithes (Ireland) Bill*, May 14th, 1838.

A CONNEXION BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE STATE IMPROBABLE.

It was stated, and stated truly, by a member of the House, that in Ireland you have a Church connected with the State, but not connected with the majority of the people; and you have also a Church connected with the majority of the people, but not connected with the State. I do not anticipate, although many may think it desirable, that the clergy, who are not now connected with the State, that the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian clergy would be connected with the State according to the resolution which was once passed in this House. It will no doubt be well remembered that there was once a resolution passed in this House, that it was expedient to provide by law for the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy. I know not whether the honourable baronet,* when he has succeeded in rescinding our resolutions, will also move that the resolution to which I just referred should be rescinded; but with regard to any plan or scheme of that kind, with regard to any suggestion for connecting the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches with the State, whatever any person may think of its policy or reasonableness, I imagine that no person in the present circumstances of the country, considering the opinions of the Church of England, considering the opinions of the Protestant Dissenters, considering in the last place the opinions of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, I imagine that no person considering these things will think it a plan likely soon to be accomplished. It must be evident to every one that there is no chance, or scarcely any chance of our seeing such a connexion established between the State and the different religious bodies in the country.—*Ibid.*

THE MISCHIEFS WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE MEASURE OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

I go back to the year 1829. No one more rejoiced than I did in that measure of justice and policy which was sanctioned by

* Sir Thomas Acland.

the Parliament in that year. But it certainly was accompanied by circumstances the most unfortunate that could possibly accompany a measure of feeling and conciliation. In the first place, after having been refused year after year to the supplications and petitions of the people of Ireland, it was accomplished at a time when the Catholic Association of Ireland had assumed the most menacing attitude, and when many members of this House, forming a very considerable minority, and which was at one time led by the noble Lord opposite, the member for Buckinghamshire,* would have said "that it was a concession made to fear and not inspired by a sense of justice." The misfortune of that impression, in the first place, was, that those who had gained this victory in Ireland, not relying upon the sense of this country in having obtained a triumph for them, thought that, by a repetition of the means by which they had succeeded, a return to a system of agitation would gain for them any object they would afterwards urge. The measure of Catholic Emancipation had another fault: it was carried into effect by those who, till the moment they proposed it, had led the people of England to believe that they were the firmest opposers of any such measure. The Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary,† who was the leader of this House—had one and all declared in the previous session that an alteration in those laws regarding Catholics involved a fundamental change in the Protestant constitution of this country, and would be accompanied with great danger to the State. When it was urged upon them that no apprehensions of such consequences had been expressed in many places, their answer was that the cry of danger to Church and State had been universally raised, because there was on the part of the people, a firm reliance that they would give the most uncompromising resistance to any alteration of those laws. But in the next session of Parliament concession was made, and it brought upon the government which made it a host of invectives, a series of the most violent denunciations and declamations, in which it was declared that the people of England had been deceived, that their just expectations had been betrayed, and that those to whom they had looked for support were still more dangerous (according to the expressions of one member of this House at that time) than "the very Jesuits they profess to abhor." There was also this mischief accompanied this act, that the people of this country, seeing this unexpected concession because under the guidance of the noble Marquis, who had not then such implicit confidence in the right honourable gentleman as he appears to have at the present moment, after supporting him with their petitions in a motion to reject the third reading of the bill, became exceedingly sensitive and jealous as to any further

* The Marquis of Chandos. † The late Sir R. Peel.

proposals that might be made with regard to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We had to struggle with the difficulties which have been incident to that measure.—*Ibid.*

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND AS A BODY.

You have deprived yourself of the means, whether it would have been wise or not to have retained them, of keeping the Roman Catholics in that degraded condition in which an honourable baronet has stated them to be. They must have wealth—they must have importance—they must gain professional honour—they must acquire from day to day, as Ireland makes progress in trade and agriculture, more and more importance; they are in number six millions and a half; they are in influence and intelligence daily increasing; and I tell you it is not safe to use these people with contumely and contempt, to foster in them feelings of alienation, and to think you can maintain the empire of this country in the same state in which it has been in a former day upheld.—*Ibid.*

INTENTIONS OF THE REFORMERS.

It was no doubt the intention and the plan of the Ecclesiastical leaders of the Reformation in this country, that as the Roman Catholic religion had embraced the whole of the people, so the Protestant Established Church should likewise embrace the whole population. But that such a plan was not successful in effect was well known. I need not go into the causes of its failure, which, I think, were founded on the doctrines of the Reformation itself, but the result is well known, that, after a very long struggle, after the punishment and degradation of those who dissented from the doctrines of the Established Church, one of the first acts of the Revolution of 1688 was to recognise—or as Lord Mansfield has termed it, to establish—the Protestant Dissenters of this country: the Act of Toleration was passed.—*Debate on Education*, Feb. 12th, 1839.

EXCLUSION ON ACCOUNT OF CREED NO LONGER THE PRINCIPLE OF THE STATE.

The admission of Protestants, of Dissenters, and of Roman Catholics to civil and political rights was carried still further by the acts of 1828 and 1829; and I think it can no longer be said, with respect either to education or to the general distribution of political power in the country, that the principle of exclusion (the Church of England being alone favoured) is any longer the principle of the State, on the contrary, the principle is that there shall be general admission of all persons without distinction of religion to an equal participation of civil rights.—*Ibid.*

ASSUMPTION OF EPISCOPAL TITLES BY ROMAN CATHOLIC
CLERGYMEN.

* I have not seen the requisition to which the honourable baronet has alluded, but in answer to his question I will state that the Government have not given any directions to the Attorney-General, nor have they communicated with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on the subject; and, unless there is an absolute necessity for so doing, I shall not think it proper to take any steps in reference to it. On one occasion, when an application was sent to me by a person acting on behalf of Dr. M'Hale, asking that certain petitions should be laid before his late Majesty, that individual had taken the title of Archbishop of Tuam, and I immediately wrote a reply that I could not present the petition to his Majesty, as Dr. M'Hale had assumed a name to which by law he was not entitled. Therefore, whenever it comes before me officially, I shall entirely deny that Dr. M'Hale has any right to assume that title, but I cannot agree in the propriety or expediency of instituting prosecutions on such a subject.†—*Incidental Conversation*, June 6th, 1839.

THIS ASSUMPTION CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE RELIEF ACT.

‡ The statement that it is the petition of the Archbishop of Tuam places the House in a situation of very great difficulty,

* This is the first occasion on which we find any allusion made to this subject by Lord John Russell. The noble Lord's answer was elicited by a question put by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, whether it was the intention of the Government to adopt any steps in consequence of Dr. M'Hale having signed an address to the High Sheriff of Mayo, as "John, Archbishop of Tuam."

† On the conclusion of the foregoing reply, Mr. O'Connell remarked that he did not know whether the noble Lord was aware that there was no clause in the Roman Catholic Relief Act which prohibited Roman Catholic prelates from assuming the titles of Protestant dignitaries. The clause prohibited others from giving any Roman Catholics those dignities, but it did not prevent them from taking these titles themselves. In answer to these observations, Lord John Russell said, that in the case to which he had alluded, the title was not given by another to Dr. M'Hale, but whether or not there was that default in the act mentioned by the honourable and learned member he did not know.

The clause alluded to is the 24th section, as follows: "That if any person after the commencement of this act, other than the person thereunto authorised by law, shall assume the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery, in England or Ireland, he shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds." It will be seen that Mr. O'Connell was mistaken, as he subsequently admitted, in his interpretation of the clause.

‡ A petition against the system of national education having been presented by the late Mr. R. D. Browne, from the Catholic Archbishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Tuam, Mr. Law observed that, by the Roman Catholic Relief Act, any Roman Catholic clergyman who assumed the title of a dignitary of the Protestant church subjected himself to a penalty; to which Mr. Browne replied, that the petition was signed, "John M'Hale," although the heading described it as

because, if we reject the petition on this ground, it may be conceived to be a captious objection, and yet, at the same time, it is obvious that to receive such a petition is contrary to the spirit of the Act of Parliament, the description evidently militating against the spirit of the Act, although it may not against the letter. As the honourable gentleman has stated that he has no authority to withdraw the petition, or to alter the wording of it, I shall certainly feel compelled, if the question be pressed, to vote against its reception.—*Debate on the presentation of a petition*, June 13th, 1839.

THE MEANS BY WHICH THE DIGNITY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IS TO BE UPHELD.

I have never ceased to say that I am a supporter of the Church Establishment, and I did consider, and still do consider, that if you wish to maintain the great foundations of the establishment, the more you do to prevent dissensions and bickerings between the Church and those who differ from her doctrines, the more secure will that Church be. And though many men may divide from her doctrines, and may differ from her in opinion, yet still they will regard that Church with respect, and almost with affection, as the means of diffusing religion in this country.—*Debate on the Address in answer to the Royal Speech*, November 20th, 1839.

A SETTLED PRINCIPLE.

Then came the question respecting the admission of Roman Catholics. Here, again, those who were opposed to municipal offices being held by Roman Catholics, took every care to avoid saying, "the Roman Catholics differ from us in religion; theirs is a false religion, and they must not be admitted to hold corporate offices." On the contrary, they took especial care to argue that the Roman Catholics held another allegiance; that they were attached to Rome, and to a government which had not only a spiritual, but a temporal power, and, therefore, the state could not rely upon their attachments, either as members of Parliament or as members of Corporations holding civil offices, as securely as they could upon other members of the community. But that

"the Petition of the Archbishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Tuam." On the discussion on Mr. Law's motion for the rejection of the petition, on the ground that it emanated from a person falsely assuming the title of Archbishop of Tuam, Lord John Russell made the above remarks. The House having divided on the question, the petition was rejected, the numbers being—

For Mr. Law's motion	-	-	165
Against it	-	-	82
Majority			83

Lord John Russell voted in the majority.

ground of objection was again over-ruled, so that it can be no longer argued, as a settled principle of Parliament, that Roman Catholics have this disqualification.—*Debate on the Jew's Declaration Bill*, March 10th, 1841.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Look at the great question of religious liberty. How long had the friends of that great cause to struggle hard before freedom was obtained for the Protestant Dissenters; how long before the Roman Catholics were admitted to an enjoyment of the privileges of the British Constitution.—*Speech to the Electors of the City of London at the nomination*, June 30th, 1841.

UNJUST PREFERENCE AND UNFAIR SUSPICIONS OF THE MINISTRY.

I ask what judges have been appointed who are Catholics, what men holding high offices have been appointed who are Catholics? In what situation of any trust or confidence has any Catholic been placed by them? * And yet there is the power which you profess to give by statute, a power which is not given practically, the right honourable gentleman said, would imply unjust preference and unfair suspicion. Well, then, I accuse him† of unjust preference and unfair suspicion, in not granting to the Roman Catholics that fair participation in power which their talents, their position in the State, and above all, the law, assented to by King, Lords, and Commons, entitle them to expect.—*Debate on the State of Ireland*, February 13th, 1844.

"DIVIDE ET IMPERA."

My belief is, that those invectives against Ireland were part of the stock in trade of the party now in power, that they were the means by which they worked upon the prejudices—perhaps honest, but ignorant prejudices—of the people of England, and induced them to believe that the Roman Catholics were about to obtain possession of the whole power in the State, and to force on Catholic supremacy; that they availed themselves of these prejudices to promote their party purposes, and excited animosity in one portion of the empire against another to get possession of office. But I have alluded to this subject because it has been said that the Roman Catholics cannot now be placed in office, because they are not of the political opinions of the party opposite; and, I ask, what men of the smallest spirit would join a party which treats with such contumely, such insult and such flagrant injustice, the body of the Roman Catholics, professing the ancient religion of Europe, and forming more than six millions of the people of Ireland?—*Ibid*.

* The Ministry under the late Sir R. Peel. † The late Sir Robert Peel.

IMPUTATIONS ON ROMAN CATHOLICS.

If such attacks afforded a sufficient excuse for the Attorney-General having acted so outrageously,* I ask, is there to be no excuse for the Roman Catholics, who for year after year have been subjected to the grossest imputations, upon whom the most violent attacks of every kind have been made as Roman Catholics—whose priests have been called “demons,” and who have found themselves denounced as “barbarians” and “New Zealanders.”—*Ibid.*

A STATE ENDOWMENT AND GRANTS FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY ADVOCATED.

The system which I should be disposed to adopt would be one which would put the Established Church, as regards the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland, on a footing of perfect equality. I know the difficulty in the way of the immediate accomplishment of such a measure. I am aware that, in* offering endowments to the Roman Catholic clergy it might be looked upon in the light of offering them bribes to abandon the interests of their flocks, as regarded their civil rights. But if we begin by giving them these civil rights, and so conciliate the affections of the lay portion of the Roman Catholic population, I do not despair that, with their willing consent, we may be enabled to induce their clergy to form part of a general Church Establishment. For the present, however, the uttermost that can be done would be a very remote step to this desirable end. I think, for instance, that an improvement should be made in the Ecclesiastical College of Maynooth.† I think that at least double the sum which is at present allotted to that establishment should be bestowed upon it. I have in my hand a return of the salaries of the professors and officers of that College, and I think them miserably inadequate. The salary of the principal is plainly and meanly insufficient. I think, also, that there ought to be more professors, and more means afforded by which a sound and liberal education could be obtained in the College. When I speak of a liberal education, in connexion with the Roman Catholic Church

* An allusion to the fact that the Right Honourable T. B. C. Smith, then Attorney-General and now Master of the Rolls, for Ireland, had during the progress of the state trials sent a hostile message to Mr. Fitzgibbon, Q.C.

† Feeling that the foreign education of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland was impolitic, Mr. Pitt recommended to his Majesty George the Third, that a seminary for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood should be established; and, accordingly, the College of Maynooth was founded and endowed with a grant of £8,000 in the thirty-fifth year of this monarch's reign. The grant was increased by the Whigs in 1807,—after the act of union had passed, to £12,000,—but this sum was, in 1808, reduced to the amount of the original grant.

in Ireland, I do not mean in this to imply that I am of opinion that the clergy should be taken from a higher class of society, or belong to a different rank. I think there are great defects in the course of education now afforded to the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland; but it has been a maxim of the Roman Catholic Church, and I think it no unwise maxim for any Christian Church to adopt, that men, however lowly born, having sufficient attainments in religious doctrine and other branches of knowledge, are as capable of rising to eminence in the Church, into the highest posts among the Bishops and clergy, as any man born in the highest ranks of society. All that can be done, however, in the present inferior state of the Establishments for the education of the clergy, would be to give larger sums to promote the utility of these establishments, and to improve the facilities for the foundation of glebes and glebe-houses. Such is the only means of improvement available at present; but I look forward to the time when the present circumstances of irritation shall have passed away, and confidence in the Government pervade the minds of the people again, which will enable us to give exactly the same advantages to the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians of Ireland as are now enjoyed by the Protestants.—*Ibid.*

ROMAN CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL TITLES.

I think that we ought to take away every thing derogatory to the position and character of the Roman Catholic Bishops. You provide by statute that they shall not be allowed to style themselves by the name of the diocese over which they preside. I think that a most foolish prohibition. You declare that Doctor Murray shall not style himself the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; but he is so, nevertheless, and a man of very high attainments and character in the eyes of the people of Ireland. If there were any other restriction existing to prevent the participation of equal civil advantages by Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Protestants, they ought also at once to be taken away.—*Ibid.*

THE SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION.

I say that the complaint made that the Roman Catholics would not connect themselves with the State by giving the State any title to interfere with their preferments and bishoprics, is a subordinate consideration. I say it would be of immense importance if you could make the Roman Catholic clergy, generally speaking, with regard to a part at least of their revenues, independent of popular passions—if you could unite them to the State by their being so independent, though their political conduct was entirely free and independent, and you did not interfere with a single ecclesiastical employment—if you left every appointment entirely unshackled, it is of importance they should have some independence of opinion.

If that, then, is the case—if the Protestant Church* does not answer the purpose of a Church Establishment—if it be desirable that the Roman Catholics should be placed in that situation, let us endeavour to make some steps towards such an object. Let us see how it is to be done. That at this moment you would induce the Roman Catholics to accept any part of the property of the Protestant Church, cannot perhaps be expected. You might not be able to do it. But if you say you are ready to cut down the Protestant Establishment to what the real wants of the people are, you would be making a beginning. You would be laying the groundwork for peace and harmony in that country.

* * * * *

Let us, therefore, consider in committee all the various arguments that may be proposed to us; let us consider there what the worthy Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Ireland—for I will call them worthy, in spite of any taunts that may be directed against them—let us consider there, I say, what the worthy Bishops and Clergy of Ireland will agree to on the terms I would offer; and I would offer none that should not give them full independence, and that the laity of Ireland should enjoy every privilege that the laity of England enjoy. I say, then, go into committee, and see if proposals made in that spirit will be accepted. Then if they determine to accept no terms—if they show a rooted hostility to England—you may despair of an amicable termination to this subject. But until you have tried this course, until you have resorted to reasonable, just, and conciliatory measures in vain, you can have no right to say that you have done justice to the people of Ireland.—*Debate on Church Temporalities, (Ireland), June 12th, 1844.*

SUPREMACY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION REPUDIATED.

I may have used words liable to misapprehension, but I never meant that there should be any supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion.—*Explanation—Ibid.*

SPIRITUAL CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY RECOGNISED.

I cannot understand why words should not be introduced into this bill, simply and plainly mentioning the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Rome, for you cannot be ignorant that there are Archbishops and Bishops of that Church who have always been acknowledged in their spiritual character. With respect to the question of giving Roman Catholic Bishops titles derived from their dioceses, I will not raise this point at the present moment, but there may, I conceive, be easily devised means of

* The Protestant Church of Ireland.

assigning them titular districts in Ireland, which would neither interfere with nor offend other parties.—*Debate on the Charitable Bequests (Ireland) Bill*, August 1st, 1844.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF IRELAND ADMITTED.

The measure* was brought forward late in the session and in the other House of Parliament, so that it did not come into this House until very near the end of the session: it was repeatedly altered and amended by persons suggesting at the moment words which they thought would answer the purpose; but there was no declaration of authority from any Roman Catholic prelate ever received to assist and guide us under an act so intended for their benefit, and to enable the Roman Catholics to give their own money and bequeath their own property for Roman Catholic purposes. Was there not a want of judgment or discretion shown as to the mode in which this bill was introduced? Can you, therefore, be surprised that certain parts of that measure shown to be defective, should be seized upon as proofs of the intention of the English Government to gain some influence hostile to the independence of the Catholic clergy? But in the meantime, you have done a great mischief. If there be any men whose influence you should have cherished and promoted in Ireland, it is such excellent men as Archbishop Murray and Archbishop Crolly. They have accepted office under the Commission; but by the mode in which you have framed the act, you have exposed them to insult and hostility, which you should have been the last to provoke.—*Debate on the Address in answer to her Majesty's Speech*, February 4th, 1845.

RETRIBUTION.

Four years ago when those who now form the Administration were in opposition, they countenanced every exhibition of insult towards the Roman Catholic religion, and animosity and alienation towards the Irish people. These phrases are now returned upon them, in which that enmity was expressed. They knew perfectly how sensitive the people of England were on this subject, how much the Protestant religion was endeared to them, and how unwillingly they would see anything like Roman Catholic supremacy in the affairs of this country. They knew the pride of the people of England, and how ill they would bear the notion that Ireland had not only her fair share in the weight and councils of England but that England was governed by the Irish members.

* The Charitable Bequests Act.

Such was their conduct four years ago ; and now, when they adopt a better course, and wish Ireland to be conciliated, how can they wonder that those who have been the agitators of Ireland, and have led the people to political victory, should remind them of those phrases—the “surpliced ruffians,” the “demon priesthood,” and the like, whenever they say that they wish prejudices to fall into oblivion, and a more conciliatory spirit to be shown. Such is the retribution—the just retribution, which overtake the men who, instead of appealing to sound and enlightened opinion, endeavour to get hold of some popular prejudice or mistaken notion, in order to found their power upon deluding or misleading the people.—*Ibid.*

RELIGIOUS FEELINGS RESPECTED.

Gentlemen, if you say, “I insist that there shall be no grant whatsoever of this kind,” that is a ground, a consistent ground, of opposition which I can understand. But for those who at any time concurred in this grant, and are prepared now to concur in it again, if proposed in the usual and ordinary manner, they, as it appears to me, have no ground for resistance upon religious scruples to a grant of £26,000, if they are prepared to grant £9,000 upon the same principle. But then I come to that objection, difficult to deal with, although impossible to discuss in this House—that religious feeling which the honourable gentleman* alluded to, and which he says, a great part of the people of this country entertain, that the Roman Catholic religion is a religion connected with idolatry, and that the Protestant people of this country ought not to grant any money for the support of that religion. I feel myself unable to enter into that argument, and speak of the character of the Roman Catholic religion in an assembly of this kind. I can do little more than follow the noble Lord the member for South Lancashire,† and say upon that subject, that I do not think the people of this country have a right to have that respect paid to their feelings which is claimed for them by the honourable gentleman, so far as that this sum should be refused to the Roman Catholic College, because if we were interfering with the people of this country, with the profession of their religion, or with the maintenance of the Protestant faith in this country, they might then say, “You shall not make a grant of this kind which so interferes with our religion.” But we must all know, as has been stated by the noble Lord the member for Liverpool, that the great majority of the people of Ireland profess the Catholic faith, and belong to that most ancient branch of the Christian

* Mr. Plumptre.

† Lord F. Egerton.

Church. And I believe that that people, retaining, as they had an undoubted right to retain, their adherence to that faith, will listen to no spiritual instruction but that which is conveyed to them by priests of their own religion. And I believe that that instruction will tend to make them more religious, more moral, better men, aye, better Christians than otherwise they would be. If that be the case, then, it is not the question whether I can promote the Catholic or the Protestant religion of Ireland. No increase of grant to the Protestant Establishment would induce the great majority of the people there to listen to the clergy of that communion. I should be more satisfied if I supposed that the people of Ireland would listen to the clergy of the Protestant faith; but that I know is contrary to their persuasions. What follows? I must deal with them as I find them—as Roman Catholics united to this country, and I must pay that respect to their religion to which they are entitled. I think the noble lord right in saying that the people of England, descended from Catholic ancestors, had liberty to make their religion as they thought more pure. But the people of Ireland did not change their faith. They adhered to the religion of their ancestors; and I do think that a grant of this kind may well be termed, as the noble lord described it, rather of the nature of a restitution than of an original grant in favour of that religion which the honourable gentleman opposite and the majority of this House do not profess.—*Debate on the Grant to Maynooth College*, April 3rd, 1845.

THE POLICY OF CONCILIATION.

I shall be happy if Her Majesty's Government at the present time are about to begin a new course. I shall be happy to find that they are about to enter on a wiser and a more gracious policy; and that, indeed, so far from conciliation having reached its limits, there is now an endeavour to be made to give conciliation a new beginning; and that the Executive Government in Ireland is to look hereafter to the benefit of the people, and not to the advantage of a small, though a powerful, minority in that country. I shall be most happy if the Roman Catholics of Ireland, increasing as they are in wealth, eminent as many of them are in talent, belonging as they do to a portion of the Christian Church which has produced men as famous for their piety as they have been excellent for their learning; if, I say, the people of Ireland belonging to that Church shall feel united with us—shall feel that we, on our parts, are ready to do them justice; that we are not led by any narrow prejudice, that we are not led—and I trust the honourable gentleman* who spoke last will not think I mean it

* Mr. Plumptre.

offensively—but that the people of this country are not led by a spirit of religious bigotry to refuse that which is just to them ; and that they may look at this measure, not as a final measure, but as one of a series of measures, by which we may hope to unite the two countries in an enduring bond.—*Ibid.*

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES.—PRECEDENCE.

The other part of the petition* is an allegation that the right honourable baronet, in fulfilment of the Charitable Bequests Act, had placed Roman Catholic prelates in a certain precedence in an Order of Council, approved of by Her Majesty, and that this was a violation of the Act of Settlement and a contravention of the oath of supremacy. That appears to me to be a most frivolous allegation ; it is not sufficiently plausible to be the ground of any proceeding as that which has been alluded to, and I could not, therefore, be disposed so far to give the sanction of the House to the petition, as to consent to its being printed.—*Debate on the printing of a petition*, April 15th, 1845.

THE BATTLE OF THE CHURCHES.

I cannot agree with what was said by the right honourable and learned member for Dungarvon† of the Protestant Dissenters of this country. I think they are men to whom, with respect to all questions of civil and religious liberty, this country is deeply indebted. When it is a question of equality in point of civil privileges, they are as forward as any men in wishing their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects to be placed on that equality. They have taken up this question of a state endowment on the strongest religious grounds favourable to Protestantism, and hostile to Roman Catholicism ; but I believe, when the question is further considered, they will see that the result of the rejection of a bill like this will be an inequality, and an injustice will be committed towards Ireland, and will see that some such measure as this is necessary as a partial remedy for some of the grievances of that country. For my own part, I cannot see without alarm—I cannot see without pain, the declarations made in the petitions laid upon the table of this House with respect to the religious part of this question. I cannot read the petitions which I see printed here

* These observations were elicited during the debate on a motion of Mr. Ferrand's, that the petition of the Members of the Dublin Protestant Operative Society, and other Protestants, praying for an Inquiry into the conduct of the late Sir Robert Peel, with a view towards his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours against the laws and constitution of the realm, should be printed.

† Mr. Shiel.

before me, coming both from Protestants of the Established Church and from Protestant Dissenters of this country, without deeply regretting that so strong a feeling—I should for myself say so strong and unjust a prejudice—should exist with respect to the Roman Catholic religion. I say so, because I remember that at the time of what is called the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, the same statements were made. I remember the same charges against the Roman Catholic Church for its idolatry, for its anti-scriptural professions, and of the members being followers of Antichrist; and many other phrases which I only repeat because they are so often contained in the petitions which have been presented to this House. The whole question of the Catholic Relief Bill came before the House of Lords; and on looking at the speeches of the prelates of the Established Church both for and against the bill, I find nothing to justify these phrases. The archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of York, placed their opposition entirely upon political grounds, and upon the encroachments of the Catholic Church. I find other Bishops discussing the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church; but all who discussed them, admitting that the Roman Catholic Church is a part of the Christian Church; and the Bishop of Llandaff asked if we did not acknowledge the Roman Catholic Church to be part of the Christian Church, whence was the authority derived by the ministers of the Church of England? When such are the opinions of the prelates of our Church, I consider myself wholly free from the necessity of holding opinions, which would give me great pain if I were compelled to entertain. But I regret to say that there is still great intolerance upon this subject. There is a feeling which has come down to us from the Reformation, which I do fear exists both on the one side and on the other side. When I read the charges made against Maynooth, and when it is said that intolerance to a certain degree exists in the Roman Catholic Church, and that this should be the cause of withholding from it our aid, I must say that I greatly regret that the spirit, which existed in so fierce a degree at the period of the Reformation, should not by this time have been softened, if not effaced. I fear that the religious warfare that then took place, has left remains of a more durable character than any civil war which this country has ever remembered. We all recollect the beautiful passage in Virgil, in which he supposes that in future time the husbandman will dig up the remains of the arms of those who fell in the civil wars of Rome, and that he will find the spears covered with rust, and the empty helmets worn in some forgotten battle; but it appears that the arms of the parties who contended at the time of the Reformation will never be allowed to rust—that there are parties constantly coming forward who will keep the spears bright, and the helmets still burnished; and that whenever any question shall arise which excites the religious

differences, whenever the same chord is touched, the unrusted spears, and the well-burnished helmets, and the tattered banners, are again brought forth, and are displayed with all the fierceness which distinguished the religious animosities of the sixteenth century. It is time, as I conceive, that this spirit should give place to a more kindly and a more conciliatory spirit. It is grievous to think that what the right honourable gentleman, the member for Newark,* is often pleased to suppose, cannot be, and that there cannot be one church contented and at peace. But I have seen the attempt made; and I have lived in Spain where this was attempted. I saw the dreadful evils that ensued; and it is impossible and extravagant to expect that in a country, divided as this is, there could be anything like an unity of the Church: but this at least we can each do; whilst each adheres conscientiously to his own faith, whilst we stand firmly by our own religion, we can each give full credit to others, whether we are Catholic or Protestant, whether we belong to the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, for equal conscientiousness; and we may all discuss the great subject of the general welfare, without joining in those unfortunate animosities which still prevail among the people. In saying this, I cannot consent to yield to the petitions of the people on this subject. I think if we say with these petitioners that we cannot support a religion which we consider to be unscriptural—in the first place our efforts must go beyond this bill, and next that they must go far beyond Ireland, and we must extend to the Colonies a rigid and unbending rule, which will, in a few years, shake the empire to its foundation.—*Debate on the Grant to Maynooth*, April 18th, 1845.

THE RESTRICTIONS PRECLUDING ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES FROM ASSUMING THE TITLES OF PROTESTANT DIGNITARIES, GROUNDLESS.

It certainly would, at this moment, be difficult for the Government to say what clauses of the bill of the honourable and learned gentleman† should be repealed; I therefore suggest that this part of the subject be left to them. The other question is of a very different character. I allude to that part which refers not to any old restrictions, but to those imposed by the act of 1829. I mean the disallowing clauses in the bill introduced by the right honourable baronet‡ at the head of the Government. The question is, whether they are prepared to make alterations in this law. The subject might have been referred to the consideration of the Commissioners, or it might, without this, have been considered by the Government as a question of policy, in the

* Mr. Gladstone.

† Mr. Watson.

‡ The late Sir R. Peel.

amendment of the law of 1829. They had done neither, however. They now stated that there would be no reference to this act in the measure they intended to propose. I, for one, am prepared to go into Committee on these clauses of the act of 1829. I do not say that I am at once prepared to repeal all these clauses, but I am willing to go into Committee to deliberate on the subject. I believe that we might repeal those disallowing clauses which prevented a Roman Catholic bishop assuming a title held by a bishop of the Established Church. I cannot conceive any good ground for the continuance of this restriction. With respect to the question of the Jesuits and the regular orders, I do not think that the act of 1829 is satisfactory; but I should like to look into the laws of other countries in Europe, and, above all, into those of Catholic countries, on the subject of these religious orders. As a general principle, I should say, do away with all these restrictions; but if you find that in Catholic countries there are some regulations as to the registration of the members of an order, or similar restraint, I should say that it is a fair subject to go into Committee to deliberate upon, although I will not pledge myself to the immediate repeal of all these restrictions.—*Debate on the Relief of Roman Catholics*, July 9th, 1845.

EPISCOPAL TITLES.—ORDER OF THE JESUITS.—THE INFLICTION OF PENALTIES AN UNMEANING THREAT.

It appears to me there is one part of the question which has not been sufficiently attended to: the measure of government, as far as it was stated last year, did not effect that relief to the Roman Catholics from a law by which they were punished, both for assuming episcopal titles in Ireland and for belonging to certain religious orders. This part of the subject requires interference by the legislature. As to preventing persons assuming particular titles, nothing can be more absurd and puerile than to keep up such a distinction. I have also the strongest objection to the law which makes Jesuits in certain cases liable to transportation: the enactment is as intolerant as it is inefficacious, and it is fit that the law should be put on an intelligible and rational footing.

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I am prepared to say that severe penalties ought not to be threatened, which no person and no government can venture to execute.—*Debate in Committee on Roman Catholic Relief*, February 5th, 1846.

INTERCOURSE WITH THE SEE OF ROME.

I merely wish to make a few observations with regard to the penalties to which Roman Catholics have been subjected by former

enactments. There is some doubt upon the question, whether the penalties which formerly attached to the holding of any intercourse by subjects of these realms with the See of Rome have been repealed. Many years ago, I heard Mr. Canning state in this House, that he had taken the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, who decided that no letter could be written to the Court of Rome without incurring a *præmunire*. I have not read the bill at present before the House, and I, therefore, do not know whether it has repealed those penalties or not; but it appears to me that all such penalties should be repealed, and if the bill be not so framed as to remove them, I shall suggest the propriety of inserting a clause in Committee for this purpose.—*Ibid*, March 11th, 1846.

THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY MAINTAINED BY COMMON LAW.—PAPAL BULLS.—INEFFICIENCY AND INJUSTICE OF PENAL STATUTES.

The other class of acts to which I shall refer are acts providing against dangers which this country incurred in former times on account of the pretences made by the Pope of Rome to supremacy over this country. Now, those acts are of a very severe nature, and many of them impose penalties which, whatever may be thought of the danger to which they refer, it is impossible to maintain in the present day. There are penalties against Popish recusants—penalties of a very severe nature against any person who may maintain the authority of the Pope. There is the act of Elizabeth upon this subject, which imposes for the first offence the condemnation of the whole of the offender's personal property; for the second offence the penalty of a *præmunire*; and for the third offence, it declares the offender guilty of high treason. I do not say that I propose now to do away with the whole of those penalties; and at the same time I must admit that a question has been raised whether in so doing we do in any way affect the title of the Crown of these Realms to supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual. But it has been laid down by the greatest authorities of former times, by Lord Hale and Lord Coke, that the supremacy of the Crown of these Realms, in matters ecclesiastical and spiritual, is part of the common law of the land. The same opinion has been given within the last few weeks by Lord Denman, Lord Campbell, and Lord Lyndhurst, and therefore we may assume that there is no danger whatever, that in taking away those penalties we do in any way touch upon the doctrine of the supremacy of the Crown. We take away penalties against those persons who maintain the supremacy of any foreign power or potentate over these realms. It cannot be seriously said that there is any advantage in keeping up penalties of this kind, for the mere assertion of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope in these realms. If it is only an opinion held by persons of the Roman Catholic religion,

it ought not to be punished so far as it is an opinion, and nothing is done in consequence of that opinion by which the course of law is disturbed. If, in any way, a person were to question the Queen's supremacy so as to bring the question before a Court of Law, no doubt the doctrine which I have mentioned would be maintained, and the law would make provision accordingly for the settlement of that doctrine. There is another offence which this bill deals with, and that is the offence of introducing a Bull of the Pope into this country. According to the act of the 13th Elizabeth, when there was an assertion of the authority of the Pope, and an attempt was made to relieve all persons from their allegiance by the authority of the Pope, it was declared that all persons who introduced those Bulls should be guilty of high treason. The question is, whether it is desirable to keep up that or any other penalty for such an offence. It does not appear to me that we can possibly attempt to prevent the introduction of the Pope's Bulls into this country. There are certain Bulls of the Pope which are absolutely necessary for the appointment of Bishops and Pastors, belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. It would be quite impossible to prevent the introduction of such Bulls. Every one knows that now they are not prevented, but are, in fact, introduced into this country. But let us suppose that there is some Bull introduced into this country, similar to those we heard of in former days; let us suppose—though it is almost extravagant to suppose it—that there was an attempt by the Pope to assert any sovereign authority in these realms, or to interfere with the Queen's authority—my belief is, that no such Bull would be observed by any Roman Catholic, but that it would be a dead letter; and this much I am sure of, that if any person acted contrary to his allegiance in consequence of such a Bull, he would be punishable according to the law of this country. Again, the security with respect to this and all other acts is, that if anything seditious or treasonable is contained in those Bulls, they would be punishable in this country the same as any other writing, of a seditious or treasonable nature. If they contain anything seditious or treasonable, there is no difference to be made between circulating them and any other seditious or treasonable writing. I think therefore that the objections made to this part of the Bull are completely unsound. It appears to me that it is only common justice to repeal all those penalties by passing this bill, which has been sent down to us by the other House of Parliament. I should say, after this bill is passed, there certainly will remain some confusion in the law—though I do not think contradiction—as no bill is introduced to alter the oaths now taken. We shall still continue to take the oath that the Pope has not, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within these realms, though, at the same time, in point of fact, there is

no doubt that he exercises a spiritual authority in these realms. That is the case at present, and that will remain after this bill is passed. I have always interpreted that oath to be, that in the opinion of the person taking it, the Pope has not any jurisdiction which can be enforced by law, and ought not to have any ; but at the same time, I think the subject of oaths is one that ought to be taken into consideration, and therefore I shall not contend that the passing of this bill will relieve us from the necessity of considering that subject in another session.

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I think that by passing this bill you will get rid of many absurd penalties and much absurd legislation now on the statute-book.—*Debate on Religious Opinions Bill*,* August 6th, 1846.

THE OATH OF SUPREMACY DEFINED.

I do not think that any one means to convey by the oath of supremacy that the Pope is not to have any influence over the minds of persons in this country, who conscientiously regarded him as possessing spiritual supremacy, and who recognised him as the head of their Church, and the person, as such, who should regulate the affairs of that Church. So far as this assertion goes, it is utterly impossible to deny that there are in these countries persons who do hold that belief ; and to punish them for holding that belief would be the grossest absurdity as well as the grossest tyranny.—*Ibid*, August 12th, 1846.

EMPHATIC DECLARATION OF HIS POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

From the beginning of my political life, I have always followed that great doctrine of Mr. Fox, that acts, and not opinions, ought to be the subject of punishment—that religious opinions form no ground for civil disqualifications. It was upon that ground, taking my stand on that principle that, now nearly twenty years ago, I proposed to the House of Commons, the abrogation of those civil disqualifications which barred the way to office to the Protestant Dissenters. It was, gentlemen, upon the same principle, braving the obloquy which attended such opinions, that I always gave my vote for removing the disabilities which afflicted our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and I know no limit to that principle. I maintain I have repeatedly made the same declaration in Parliament, that there ought to be no disqualification for civil office, or for holding seats in Parliament on account of religious opinions.—*Speech at a meeting at the London Tavern*, July 20th, 1847.

* This bill received the Royal Assent, August 18th, 1846.

BROKEN PLEDGES.

I have seen gentlemen pledge themselves never to agree to the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities ; but when that great man, the Duke of Wellington, with his sagacious eye perceived that the time was come to remove those disabilities, or to encounter civil dissension, the gentlemen who had pledged themselves to oppose such a step, preferring the safety of the country to the observance of their pledges, wisely, but not very much to their own credit, voted against the engagements they had made.—*Ibid.*

UNFOUNDED ALARMS.

I shall only say further, that those who affect alarm as to the interests of Protestantism endeavour to frighten you with vain terrors. Protestantism is in no danger ; but in holding fast our Protestantism let us not forget our Christianity.—*Speech at the Nomination for the city of London, July 28th, 1847.*

THE TRIUMPH OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

And now, gentlemen, to touch upon another point, this return is no less a triumph to principles of religious liberty. It is true, that the progress of the nation in the principles of religious freedom has not been so rapid as that to which I have just adverted,* yet if we look back some forty years, and consider that then religious intolerance was in its prime and vigour ; that, in the guise of "No-Popery," it raised a cry, a powerful and predominant cry, against those who differed with ourselves upon religious subjects ; we must rejoice that the disabilities which affected the Protestant Dissenters, the disabilities which affected the Roman Catholics, have been removed ; the day has now arrived, by your election of Baron De Rothschild, for the removal of the last vestiges of religious intolerance.—*Speech at the declaration of the Poll for the city of London, July 30th, 1847.*

ROMAN CATHOLIC RIGHTS MAINTAINED.

I must say, however, that I think the Roman Catholics are entitled to all the privileges which are possessed by the other inhabitants of the country, and that a man's religious opinions ought to be no bar to his obtaining advantages which would otherwise be accessible to him.—*Ibid.*

* In allusion to the recent changes in our commercial policy.

THE WISDOM OF PARLIAMENT.

Parliament declared, in its wisdom, that the Roman Catholics should no longer be subjected to the imputation to which they had been exposed, that of infidelity to their Sovereign, and that they were as well qualified as any other person to hold office, with the exception of some offices connected with the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom.—*Debate on the Jews' Disabilities*, December 16th, 1847.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CIVIL AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT AND THE SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY OF THE POPE.

Honourable members of this House who belong to the Roman Catholic persuasion, must feel that they are a good deal influenced in their conduct with regard to that measure,* and guided by the opinion of the Pope. With regard to those colleges, then, there must be a direct conflict between the civil authority of Parliament and the spiritual authority of the Pope, and there is an inconvenience in that.—*Ibid*, May 4th, 1848.

THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

Now, I think it better that in all these matters we should not stand on the adventitious and artificial aid we derive from saying that we will not have any communication with the court of Rome.

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I do not think Protestantism rests on so frail a basis. I should be much more afraid of the Roman Catholic religion, if I thought that these foolish and obsolete restrictions were the securities upon which Protestantism depended.—*Debate on the Diplomatic Relations with the Court of Rome Bill*, August 17th, 1848.

CREATION BY THE POPE OF ARCHBISHOPRICS AND BISHOPRICS IN ENGLAND REPUDIATED.

An honourable gentleman has asked me some questions with regard to certain proceedings that have taken place. I do not know whether he means to ask me now with respect to the creation of Roman Catholic Archbishoprics in England. I do not know that the Pope has authorized in any way, by any authority he may have, the creation of any archbishopric or bishopric with dioceses

in England ; but certainly I have not given my consent—nor should I give my consent if I were asked to do so—to any such formation of dioceses. With regard to spiritual authority, the honourable gentleman must see, when he alludes to other states in Europe, that whatever control is to be obtained over the spiritual authority of the Pope, can only be obtained by agreement for that end. You must either give certain advantages to the Roman Catholic religion, and obtain from the Pope certain advantages in return, among which you must stipulate that the Pope shall not create any dioceses in England without the consent of the Queen ; or, on the other hand, you must say that you will have nothing to do with arrangements of that kind—that you will not consent, in any way, to give any authority to the Roman Catholic religion in England. For my own part, I am not disposed to think that it would be for the advantage of this country, or that it would be agreeable to the Roman Catholics, that we should have an agreement with the Pope, by which their religious arrangements should be regulated. But although you may prevent any spiritual authority being exercised by the Pope by law, yet there is no provision—no law—my honourable friend could frame that would deprive the Pope of that influence which is merely exercised over the mind, or that would preclude him from giving advice to those that chose to attend to such advice. It is quite obvious that you cannot by any means and authority whatever prevent the Pope from communicating with the Catholics of this country. You may try to prevent such communication from being open ; but I think it would be very foolish if you took any means of great vigour and energy for that purpose. If, however, such communication is not open, it will be secret. So long as there are Roman Catholics in the country, and so long as they acknowledge the Pope as the head of their Church, you cannot prevent his having spiritual influence over those who belong to that communion.—*Ibid.*

RECOGNITION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL TITLES, BY EARL CLARENDON.

What the Earl of Clarendon did was this :—in the Charitable Bequests Act there is so far an acknowledgment of the rank of certain ecclesiastics belonging to the Church of Rome, that they are in several clauses in that act called archbishops and bishops of the Church of Rome. Now, being archbishops and bishops, the usual titles by which we describe such dignitaries is : “ The Most Reverend ” and “ The Right Reverend ; ” and, in addressing them in conversation, or by letter, they are usually termed “ Your Grace ” and “ Your Lordship. ” Now, the Earl of Clarendon was of opinion, that when he saw certain prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, it would be fit, lest they might feel

themselves in any respect not placed in the rank which they ought to hold, not only to call them archbishops and bishops in the place of "Doctor," as they were formerly called—Doctor Troy and the like—but to address them as "Your Grace" and "Your Lordship." Having done that, I believe that he communicated privately to Earl Grey, some time afterwards; that he found there were Roman Catholic bishops in the Colonies, one of whom was then, I believe, residing in Ireland, and that he thought what had been done in Ireland might very well be done in the Colonies, as he believed it would be gratifying to the Roman Catholic Church to have their rank thus acknowledged. The Charitable Bequests Act certainly does not give any particular title to archbishops and bishops, any more than calling them archbishops and bishops; neither does that act in any way confer a right by which a Roman Catholic archbishop may call himself the Archbishop of Dublin, or of any see where there is a Protestant bishop by law existing. In the same way, Earl Grey states, though it may be proper to call an archbishop with his name, yet that it would not be proper to call him by the name of any see where there was an archbishop or bishop of the Protestant Church by law established. But I own I do not think that this is a matter of very great importance. It was very agreeable to the feelings of the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops that they should be called by the titles by which they are usually designated, but they received these titles; but that does not imply any legal claim to authority, and I cannot conceive, therefore, that it is necessary for this House to take any proceedings in this matter.—*Incidental Debate*, February 8th, 1849.

THE OATH OF SUPREMACY.

But when the Roman Catholics assert that they understand this oath, as I am led to believe they do, to mean that no person has or ought to have any influence, power, or authority over their minds, then, as it is obvious the Pope has considerable influence over their minds, and that his decrees do affect the Roman Catholic Bishops here, in Ireland, and in Scotland, why, in that sense, it cannot be said that the Pope is without spiritual and ecclesiastical authority within these realms.—*Debate on Parliamentary Oaths Bill*, February 19th, 1849.

DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE.

For instance, with regard to the Roman Catholics, it was at one time alleged—I will not stop now to inquire whether truly or falsely—that they were persons with a divided allegiance—that they owed allegiance to the Pope, which made their allegiance to

the Sovereign of these realms a wholly imperfect allegiance; that they never would be satisfied with paying obedience to a Protestant Sovereign or a Protestant Government; but that they would be constantly attempting to overturn it, and to introduce the Roman Catholic religion and supremacy into this House. I say I will not enter into that allegation now, but I will give my opinion that if it were proved, it would form a good and sufficient reason for excluding Roman Catholics from this House.—*Ibid.*

THE POPE'S AUTHORITY NOT ACKNOWLEDGED BY LAW.

But my honourable friend seemed to think there was some ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction given to the Pope, because the members of this House do not deny that it exists. I cannot imagine that any of our courts of law, because a member of this House does not deny that it exists, would be inclined or disposed in any way to admit such an authority, when, by law, no such authority exists.—*Ibid.*, May 7th, 1849.

THE CREATION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES NOT SANCTIONED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

“Sir,*—I am directed by Lord John Russell to inform you, in answer to your question whether a list of Roman Catholic prelates contained in a newspaper is correct, that he has no other means of judging than you have yourself, namely, by reading the Bull of the Pope in the newspapers.

“To the second question, ‘Whether the creation of the above Popish bishoprics, or the appointments thereto, have received the sanction and approbation of Her Majesty’s ministers?’ I am directed to answer, that they have not received such sanction and approbation.

“I am directed further to state, that Lord Minto, when in Rome, was not consulted on this measure, and never gave any countenance to it.

“I have the honor to be, Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

“R. W. GREY.”

“*Downing-street, Oct. 28th, 1850.*

* This letter was addressed to a gentleman whose name does not transpire, resident at Exeter.

THE LATE "MANIFESTO."

"To the Right Reverend the Bishop of Durham.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I agree with you in considering 'the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism' as insolent and insidious,' and I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject.

"I not only promoted to the utmost of my power the claims of the Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who, without such help, would have been left in heathen ignorance.

"This might have been done, however, without any such innovation as that which we have now seen.

"It is impossible to confound the recent measures of the Pope with the division of Scotland into dioceses by the Episcopal Church, or the arrangement of districts in England by the Wesleyan Conference.

"There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome—a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our Bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times.

"I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation.

"Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the Pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences. No foreign Prince or Potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious.

"Upon this subject, then, I will only say that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power deliberately considered.

"There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign Sovereign.

"Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged, in explicit terms, the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, 'step by step, to the very verge of the precipice.' The honour

paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the Liturgy, so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese.

“What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign Prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?”

“I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But I rely with confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.

“I remain, with great respect, &c.,

“J. RUSSELL.

“*Downing-street, Nov. 4th, 1850.*”

THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY MAINTAINED.

The Lord Mayor, in speaking of any merits which her Majesty's Ministers may have, has alluded to declarations which have been made on my part. I can only say, gentlemen, that that attachment to the religious freedom of this country, which I have hitherto felt, will always continue to animate my breast, and that it will be my duty to maintain to the utmost of my power the supremacy of our Sovereign, and the religious liberty of the people, from whatever quarter they may be assailed. Let me add, however, one thing further. When perils much more grave, much more imminent, impended over this country, a wise Princess who at that time ruled our destinies, thought fit to call to her aid all those, whatever might be their religious persuasion, who were faithful to the throne and true to the interests of their country. Such was the conduct of Elizabeth in times of danger as great as any to which our country was ever exposed. Such conduct, I will venture to say, is worthy of imitation, and I believe—now that religious liberty is established in this country—that people of all

religious opinions, while obeying the dictates of their conscience as to the mode of worship they think it right to adopt, will rally round the institutions of the country, pay a grateful homage to the crown for the protection they receive, and rejoice that they live in a land where religious freedom is generally, and I trust I may say, permanently established.—*Speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, November 9th, 1850.*

FINIS.

